

# **Daring to Speak: Indonesian Discourse on Learning English**

**G. G. Weix**

University of Montana

## **Introduction**

We can only speculate at what point English appeared historically in Indonesian cultures, particularly on Java. Prior to the nineteenth century, contact with English speakers would have occurred through trade and mercantile relations in coastal port towns. The effects of occasional contact with English merchants on Javanese language are unknown. In 1811, when Governor-General Daendels claimed Dutch sovereignty over the coastal territories, he imposed new treaties upon the Javanese courts and significantly altered the political relations of tribute and trade. However, there is little or no mention of the linguistic terms of these political maneuvers by the Dutch (Ricklefs 1981:108).

The British military conquest of the Netherlands Indies from 1795 and their seizure of Batavia in August 1811 introduced English directly to the Indies polity; and in 1819, when Thomas Raffles founded the city-state of Singapore, English became the language of administration across the Straits of Malacca (cf. Cohn 1988). Raffles also initiated reforms in the Netherlands Indies between 1811 and 1816. Javanese elites and British colonial officials apparently experienced numerous misunderstandings of protocol and etiquette. Ricklefs writes, “[W]hen Raffles visited the court in December 1811 he personally encountered the Sultan’s hostility and replied with such belligerence which on one occasion nearly led to armed combat in a crowded room” (Ricklefs 1981:109).

Other than those five years of British rule of the Indies, English did not seriously contend with the Dutch language in the Indies colonial administration and education until the beginning of the twentieth century. Even then, English was only marginally embraced by Indies intellectuals, who spoke and wrote primarily

in Dutch. R.A. Kartini (1875–1904) and others advocated education in Dutch and praised it as a vehicle for education, enlightenment and awareness of the world beyond the Indies. Colonial administrators restricted education in European languages so that only Indies elites could study Dutch (Sutherland 1979). Kartini was offended especially that European officials required civil servants on Java to address them in high Javanese and to be answered in Malay, the *lingua franca*.

Indonesian nationalists disdained speaking Malay among themselves (Toer 1993). Only after efforts at political recognition failed did nationalists turn to Malay as a cultural strategy to distance themselves from colonial rule (Shiraishi 1990). Those who spoke and wrote in Malay faced resistance on the part of others literate in Dutch. For example, when Sukarno promoted ‘Bahasa Indonesia’ as a unifying new language for the new nation in 1927, contemporary journals such as *Indonesian Youth* struggled with the choice, since few readers were familiar with written Malay. The journal editor “was forced to compromise with its perspective contributors.” One editorial read, “[I]f you are afraid to express your thoughts in Indonesian, because you are not proficient enough in it, write to us in Dutch, step by step certainly we will all learn.” This transition from Dutch to Malay is echoed seventy years later in Indonesian discourse on learning English, even though English was already present in the nationalist circles. Sutan Sjahrir, the subject of recent biography, advertised English lessons in the 1920s. “Sjahrir himself hung a board above the entrance of his ‘university’ with ‘Free English lessons by Mr. Soebagio from New York’,” (Mrazek 1993: 46–48).

Indonesians of Chinese descent also pursued English instruction at the turn of the century. Their children were excluded from Dutch instruction in European schools, so urban merchants founded the *Tiong Hoa Thee Koan* schools in Batavia in 1901 to educate their children in Mandarin. Suryadinata (1972:49–72) points out:

It is interesting to note that English, not Dutch, was taught as the first foreign language. One of the main reasons for this was that English had a wider use than Dutch. Kwee Tek

Hoay argued that the teaching of English revealed the Indies Chinese resentment of the colonial government. “English was so emphasized in the THHK school in Batavia that an English section was established. The English section was known as the Yale Institute because it was headed by a Yale graduate.” The school proved popular, by 1908 there were fifty-four established.

This branch of the genealogy of English instruction is scarcely remembered in Indonesia today. Yet almost a century later, private and extracurricular lessons are a common avenue for English language instruction. Dutch has long since disappeared from use, except among elderly speakers in the eastern Islands and those with relatives in Holland. Bahasa Indonesia, the national language, is maintained through public school instruction and media. While formal study of English as ‘a foreign language’ is increasingly part of the curriculum in secondary and even primary schools, public instruction is rarely successful in producing competent speakers. Instead, Indonesians teach each other (English) ‘conversation’ through increasingly entrepreneurial and informal means.

When Indonesian speakers study English, they identify three geographic origins for native speakers of English: England, the United States and Australia. They show very little interest in ‘global English’ spoken in postcolonial countries; for example, India does not seem to figure in their perceptions of world English, nor does Singapore (cf. Kachru 1986). Machan and Scott (1992) have described English-speaking linguistic communities, especially their internal heterogeneity. Braj Kachru has edited several volumes on global or world English, but there are few if any references to Indonesia in the comparative literature (1983, 1986, cf. Quirk 1985) Since sociolinguists ask how casual attitudes and official policies shape language use and the social relations that language mediates, this approach has informed my initial questions for contemporary Indonesian speakers of English.

Let me first sketch how and why Indonesians learn to speak global English. Indonesians readily acknowledge English as ‘the international language’ and the state requires children to study

grammar in secondary schools. Yet, English has entered everyday discourse primarily through extracurricular means outlined above: marginal groups and informal instruction, entrepreneurial interactions with foreigners. With financial and communication networks linking Indonesia to global markets and media the interest in English among Indonesians of all ages and backgrounds is accelerating. Widespread instruction is fairly recent, although English has always been a minor part of school curriculum (personal communication, Pak Sipatenu, 1995).

Teachers and local authorities promote English in the classroom, though in ways which undermine more traditional forms of instruction in the Javanese context. In an article on education, "Speaking English at Bakti High School," the Indonesian magazine, *EDITOR*, reports that staff and students at a private school four hours west of Surabaya are required to use English the entire day once a week. The requirement was introduced in 1988, "a step," *EDITOR* reports, "which demonstrates that English need not be feared." The headmaster, Haji Imam Sukardi, gives the following advice to students.

The key is one must be brave, just let go. There is no need to feel embarrassed or afraid of mistakes. After a while you will know yourself whether a sentence needs [the verb] 'to be' or you need to add '-ing' and that sort of thing.

Such advice to native speakers of Javanese reflects sensitivity to the risk of making mistakes and offending listeners. Schools are the social domain where one defers speaking a mother tongue, Javanese, and learns religious or national languages (Siegel 1986, Shiraishi 1991). Ethnographers have noted that learning to speak a different language from one's teacher establishes the teacher's authority and socializes children into the broader social hierarchy in Javanese society (Glicken 1987). Yet at Bakti school the headmaster urges his students to be bold in the classroom, to let go and just say something. He does not suggest who they might address: a peer, their teacher, himself. Therein lies a potential risk and anxiety for Javanese speakers. To speak English is to risk a loss of status in social interaction in Javanese society.

To investigate attitudes of Indonesians toward English, I have gathered interviews and written commentary on how and why Indonesians learn English. In addition to fieldwork in 1993 and 1995, I initiated correspondence with readers of an Indonesian magazine written in English, *HELLO*. In the article, "Why do you want to speak English? An anthropologist wants to know," I invited people to correspond with me. Over two hundred people have responded to my query in English and in Indonesian. The quotes here are taken from interviews, letters, and conversations. Initial field research confirms that English is seen to fulfill both pragmatic and symbolic goals. Learning English allows Indonesians to develop social relationships with 'native speakers' of 'the international language and community'. Their goals to acquire English are fairly obvious: to travel, to gain access to a wider range of employment opportunities, and to gain knowledge. Yet their narrative responses also include an implicit interest in learning English for symbolic goals as well: they report a certain pleasure in speech, in humor, and in social interaction which motivates them to continue English instruction, even when it does not appear to succeed.

### **Pragmatic Goals: Travel, Employment, Knowledge**

The most obvious motivation for Indonesians is the perceived relationship between studying English and employment. The major bookstores in cities on Java illustrate the expanding range of publications targeted for occupational niches. In the National Bookstore in Plaza Indonesia, an opulent shopping mall on Thamrin Avenue in Jakarta, a selection of English course books titles specify 'dialogue or conversation' for the following groups: 'secretaries, housewives, receptionists, taxi drivers, applicants, nurses, bankers and the office.' Similarly the course books stress that conversation can be learned for 'hobbies, social occasions, receptions, traveling and businessmen.' One clerk explained:

There are two ways to study English: courses and school. In courses conversation is given priority in more detail, and time

is limited. There are exercises. In school, the focus is just on [verb] tenses.

People now study English because it is the modern era. Whoever does not want to be left behind [must study English]. There are those who don't want to [study English] but there are more who are motivated to speak English.

Key to her explanation is *minat*; one needs motivation to study English. Yet accompanying motivation is the attraction to English, as each language is likened to a different taste, or menu:

English is like another menu. We must study Indonesian; it's not a question of interest. It's like everyday food; everyday fare, it's nutritious; but with English we have another menu, some variety.

With this metaphorical distinction the young woman directs our attention beyond the utility of speaking English and echoes what many people have told me, that "English is pleasurable to speak (*enak dibicara*)."

Another clerk in the Sinar Harapan bookstore described English fluency as attractive because it facilitates travel, and almost limitless knowledge.

We can communicate with anyone. If we meet [someone] on a train or plane, we can communicate. So we aren't embarrassed or hesitant to speak. It's so wonderful to talk in English, so open, you can do anything. It's not just for work; that's too shortsighted. We study English so we can know anything.

Such pleasure in speaking and gaining facility in English augments pragmatic interest in employment. How do Indonesians learn to associate English as a medium for travel, international capital, media and knowledge? These associations are affective as well as effective; Indonesians feel emotionally drawn to learn English. It symbolizes their willingness and desire to travel and seek knowledge beyond national borders. As a correspondent from Bandung writes,

Fifty percent of the countries of the earth use English. If we speak English we can go anywhere. . . . I am falling in love with America. I don't know why, but if I see the brochure of America I am sad because I can't go there.

As the clerk stated above, even the fantasy of travel must be facilitated: English allows one to speak to anyone and therefore appears to have universal appeal as well as usefulness.

Second, English is increasingly a requirement for skilled work in the private sector. Fluency affords greater possibilities for advancement.

One day I was interviewed in English by a personnel manager in a company where I wanted to get a job. . . . I realized my carelessness and made up my mind to master this useful language.

Learning English, one can gain not only access to private sector employment, but also initiate conversations with international acquaintances. Several correspondents mention that their bosses—Japanese, Taiwanese, or Korean—communicate with Indonesian staff and workers in English (correspondents #53 from Batam; #56 from Solo). “It is the language of business [*bahasa bisnis*],” they note.

Third, access to media within and beyond the national borders—textual, electronic, or satellite broadcast—stimulates an interest and pleasure in English as the medium of technology. Younger correspondents say that their initial interest in English was sparked by American cartoons and subtitled television shows; older correspondents mention radio broadcasts. Correspondents say that participating in these media, corresponding or translating, motivates further study.

Why speak English? I want to correspond . . . [and] read manuscripts and translate them into Indonesian. I want to deliver a speech at international meetings.

Therefore English facilitates or fulfills three pragmatic goals: travel, employment and increased knowledge; it also stimulates the pleasure and motivation in studying the language.

### **Symbolic Goals: Prestige and Social Rank**

Indonesians also feel motivated to study English because they are attracted to its international status. With current Indonesian state policy aimed at hosting multinational businesses which employ Indonesians, English tests have become a means to distinguish credentials in the skilled labor market. Several correspondents mention that English is a standard feature of job applications; sometimes the entire application is in English. Yet again, knowing English also becomes a social distinction. The language appears to create 'special communities', as one correspondent calls them:

English isn't our mother tongue. But we can find those who speak English in special communities such as in offices, schools, campus organizations, government, etc., [educated people to be exact!] even though they're not able to communicate very well [in English].

These 'special communities' consist of those people who have already learned English through various forms of instruction and practice. One aims to learn English to gain entry to these groups. One does so through informal English instruction which teaches 'conversation'.

Informal English instruction occurs in extra-curricular courses (*kursus*), tutorials, private lessons, and radio broadcasts. Wealthier Indonesians can pay for their spouses, children, and servants to have private lessons at home, although these tutorials are designed to supplement, not to replace instruction in schools. As one correspondent explains,

For the rich there are many choices; taking English courses, buying English cassettes, books and magazines etc. For the others [the poor] they take English courses taught by



volunteer teachers public transportation drivers, taxi, bus or *becak* [pedicab] drivers.

Informal courses are widespread. According to the central Office of Informal Instruction in Jakarta, 21,000 informal courses in English, Computers and Accounting were offered throughout the country in 1995 (personal communication, 1995).

[D]on't be surprised if you find many courses here in Indonesia from Sabang, North Sumatra to Marauke, Irian Jaya.

writes one young patriot paraphrasing a national song to describe the prevalence of English courses.

Many parents arrange for private lessons for their children to facilitate their attendance at high school or university in the United States, Singapore, or Australia. In doing so, middle class Indonesians also feel ambivalent about the 'spread' of private lessons. A graduate student at Indonesia University and the mother of two children told me,

Of course now English is the international language. . . . I think people that want connections or who want to add to their knowledge by reading and so on need to study English. Secondly I think, why is it spreading now? Everywhere you go you will get it with native speaker[s] and so on, beginning when children are young. . . . Because it's for children, right? Parents want to prepare their children for school abroad later. Now there are so many who go to school abroad.

Private tutorials give her the impression that English is spreading (*menjamur*), even gaining the dubious status of contagion (*ketularan*). A journalist told me an anecdote that also illustrates a cultural association between language and threats to the bodily health. A young man who worked in a graphics office for eight years played country music and surrounded himself with English, even though he could not speak it. He felt enormous frustration. At one point he broke out in hives and consulted a

psychiatrist. The doctor told him, "You're haunted by westerners. It would be better if you didn't study English anymore." (*Kamu dibayangi orang barat, lebih baik tidak belajar English lagi.*) So he stopped speaking English entirely and the hives went away.

The 'spread' of private lessons and tutorials and the seemingly destructive nature of the desire for English may be cast as metaphorical threats to the body; but the official story remains that instruction is necessary for social and economic advancement. "English is like a diploma," one Indonesian living abroad told me. "It can be a test for employment." The irony is that private lessons are prohibitively expensive for most Indonesians. This fact does not lessen the urban folklore that English enhances one's ability to earn a living. Indeed, those who teach English courses do quite well.

Tutorials and private lessons are not the exclusive domain of wealthy elite. In my first fieldwork in 1986-87 on the north coast of Java, I was acquainted with many students and teachers at the local university. One enterprising instructor taught English lessons in his home to large classes three days a week; their fees supplemented his civil service salary. In 1993 private lessons and tutorial rates varied from 5,000 to 20,000 rupiah an hour. At the University for Foreign Languages in Semarang in 1993 the local American in residence gave tutorials to the mayor, the governor, and the wives of officials as well to a range of business people and students.

Those who take private lessons hope to learn 'conversation', which has a specific meaning in the context of informal instruction. 'Conversation' allows Indonesians 'to speak to anyone' and gives a speaker the ability to broaden a circle of acquaintances and enhances social rank. The wives of civil servants seek this ability, and they often take lessons in groups. They say that they hope to demonstrate their ability to speak another language at parties to help their husbands' careers. An English professor at the University of Indonesia taught private lessons to groups of women in Jakarta from 1977 to 1979 and confirmed that English lessons help establish relative social rank among civil servants:

The officials' wives who take lessons are usually told, or encouraged to do so by their husbands, so they take courses or private lessons because the husband has a career at the office. When the men are promoted, there is a point when the women can be left behind [*ketinggalan*]. For example, when there are guests [if the official has a party] the women will say, "I'm embarrassed if there's a party and I can't talk with people." Actually it's the husband who's embarrassed. "Please teach me conversation," the wives ask me.

Male civil servants rarely take group classes themselves. Due to a lack of formal pedagogy—textbooks, writing exercises, or lesson plans—group lessons rarely improve speaking ability. I taught some group lessons during fieldwork in the 1980s, and they resemble social gatherings and rotating savings associations (*arisan*) in which women exchange news and serve refreshments. To that extent they strengthen the perception that learning to speak English is enjoyable, but they also confirm to elite women that the language is inaccessible to them.

Javanese speakers say that English can be likened to High Javanese as one Indonesian teacher told me. Both languages are equally inaccessible. To speak either English or High Javanese is to defer to others and to demonstrate the proficiency of the speaker in negotiating speech registers properly. To demonstrate proficiency, one also risks failure, which can threaten one's relative social status. Therefore, Indonesians often say one needs courage to speak English. The risk is different from speaking High Javanese though; to make mistakes in English does not have the same connotation as making mistakes in Javanese. Rather, one suffers ridicule by native speakers of English. A doctor's wife in her mid-forties explains,

Courage, you know, to be laughed at, because sometimes pronunciation is wrong and people who know must want to laugh. You have to be brave and not care. . . . If you speak English you have to be brave.

The courage to speak (English) implies the ability to gamble in the negotiation of status which characterize all interactions among Javanese speakers. The doctor's wife who explains courage (*keberanian*) indicates why relative social status is at stake. Those who know a language, she tells us, feel compelled to laugh at the mistakes made by those with limited facility. This differs from learning Javanese when mistakes are an offense to the listener. The risk of mistakes in Javanese can silence children and nonnative speakers, who often choose not to speak rather than to embarrass themselves and others with an inappropriate choice of words (Geertz 1960, Siegel 1986).

Learning English, one risks not offense, but ridicule. One *HELLO* reader asks,

I am very pleased that finally I have dared to write you. I have a bad habit; I hesitate to do new things even though they are positive activities because I'm worried it won't be acceptable. Can you help me to lose this feeling, Mrs. Weix? I am eager to speak to native speaker[s], but I am always afraid to begin.

Laughter is not only a risk, but also the reward for mastering English. A student at Semarang's Language Academy says her parents enjoy television broadcasts because "they want to know the story . . . because the translation is incomplete, you know? For example there are jokes and if you know the meaning of the jokes, then you can laugh."

This desire to know the story is misinterpreted by Americans living in Indonesia, who assume that Indonesians study English so they can follow the plot of broadcasts or television shows. This assumes the desire to speak English is a hermeneutic project to understand the plot or narrative. However the young Javanese student quoted above tells us that jokes, not narrative structure, attract the attention of her elderly parents when they watch television.

Her response suggests that the interest in speaking and understanding English lies beyond the utility of language as a means of communication or economic advancement. To interpret

the pleasure in speech, Freud identified that jokes contain a linguistic gap which produces pleasure. The joke, Freud writes, is a playful judgment distinguishing sense from nonsense; it is the arbitrary connection of two contrasting ideas. A joke differs from narrative because it moves from an initial apprehension of sense to a resolution that there is no truth to the initial perception, but rather non-sense (Freud 1937:16–22).

For Indonesians who wish to laugh at jokes and to risk, at the same time, potential laughter from others, English provides a new medium for creating moments of non-sense. One need only view any city street to see slogans in English and puns of translation gone awry. Stickers and posters are common reminders of Indonesian clichés such as *jangan ikut campur* - don't get involved, or *hitam manis* - brown sugar. The literal translation into English produces nonsense: 'no follow mix' and 'black sweet'. Women sellers at the Biak airport cite these non sequiturs to English speaking tourists as evidence that the sellers themselves 'cannot speak English', even as they chuckle at the phrases.

The displacement of sense in these jokes is one effect of translation from Indonesian to English, privileging local idioms which are usually opaque to English speakers. Because tourists don't recognize the original phrase in Indonesian, they are at a disadvantage when trying to understand what is said. All they hear is English shaped to convey Indonesian clichés. This subversion of communication—subordinating sense to non-sense for humor—is itself discernable only if one knows both languages. Indonesian discourse on English thus demonstrates that Indonesians both speak English, and also resist the language in a certain way.

A second example of translation gone awry can be found in slogans on stickers and posters. The phrases 'Islam never die', 'Moslem %100', 'The big family of Moslem', 'Islam is my soul', 'The Truth is in Islam Only' and 'Islam is my solution' are pasted on doors and windows to express Islamic affiliation; yet the sentiments are expressed in English rather than in Indonesian or Arabic. Even the electronic mail illustrates this use of English. In a debate about the use of Indonesian as a medium of communication on the Internet, one anonymous person

responded, “I wish I speak [sic] Arabic. I wish Arabic was my mother tongue. *Kalau bahasa Arab bahasa ibu sendiri, anak saya pintar ngaji.*” Such an interest in speaking Arabic so that one’s children could learn religious verse does not explain why such a wish would be conveyed in English.

Finally, Indonesian discourse about learning English includes not only overly pragmatic goals: to travel, or to gain employment, concern for social rank and a symbolic pleasure in speaking and the humorous effects of translation. The motivation to speak English depends upon the invitation to chat (*mengajak omong*), that is, to move outside Javanese or Indonesian discourse and into the uncertain but appealing conversations with foreigners and ‘native speakers’. *HELLO* correspondents say that invitation to chat, or to correspond is crucial to successful interaction with English speakers. As two young readers wrote,

I want to have the key to open the world, not just the world of knowledge, but the world of social intercourse.

I feel happy and satisfied when I could speak and chat in English language with some foreigners for the first time at Borobudur temple for my final examination [in a course]. Although I couldn’t understand their speech it felt nice because they could understand my speech and we [could] talk, joke and take a picture together. That’s my nice memory.

Indonesians attempt to practice their conversational skills with any tourist passing by. The problem is that foreigners are not always approachable:

I want to speak with tourists but I am afraid to do it. How to speak to them? Must we say Hello? How about if a tourist is walking? May we stop them?

Some young correspondents learn English to write in their diaries (#67), to overcome loneliness (#81), to write in general (#88), even to write in hopes of winning a Nobel prize (#72). Yet these

personal motivations are exceptional; the majority of those who comment on learning English agree that conversation requires a companion, preferably a native speaker. One student was forced to talk to herself which turned her enthusiasm for English sour:

When I first began studying English I was like a crazy person. It's easy to speak Indonesian but I wanted to speak English and I had no friend. I was forced to talk to flowers, or to small children even though they didn't understand.

Social interactions with 'native speakers' also make Indonesians reflect on the decision to learn another's language. As a bank clerk raised in West Java explained, "to travel without English one is mute, but also a perpetual tourist." He added that any insight into another culture is predicated upon familiarity with the language of that place. Yet Indonesians are almost always the ones to become bilingual in order to communicate and to understand the cultures of other countries, whether at home or abroad.

If we go to America, people there speak English; we cannot know the culture so we must ask to communicate. If we do not know English we are mute, we would only be on vacation, just looking, seeing buildings, bridges, technology, but we wouldn't know how they are made.

I have a friend who just returned from the U.S. after two or three years study and asked, why do we speak English? Why don't we just invite Americans to speak Indonesian? Then they would know Indonesian culture, be closer to it, they could understand our troubles, they could know our innermost thoughts. Before I always spoke English, but now I wonder.

In my initial field interviews and correspondence only one reader said his desire to learn English arose from feeling embittered (*penasaran*) toward foreigners who can speak Bahasa Indonesia (#44). For most Indonesians the question why others learn (or do not learn) Indonesian is not an issue.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, Indonesians value English instruction because they have overt goals to gain access to employment or the possibility of travel, but they also hope to garner prestige and a pleasure in speech. To do so, they will risk fear and ridicule for the chance to chat with native speakers. English is paradoxical: it promises enhanced economic opportunity, yet it costs Indonesians relatively enormous sums of money to learn conversation with no guarantee that anyone will invite them to converse.

These efforts to speak English do not challenge Indonesian as a widespread medium of public discourse, yet in 1993 the Indonesian government banned English syntax in signs, advertisements and the names of suburbs such as 'California Village'. Currently official state policy is that when English is used for proper names, it must conform to Indonesian syntax, e.g., 'Village California'. One private school outside Jakarta advertised complete English instruction from the first grade in an effort to compete with boarding schools in Singapore (Cohen 1993). However, permits for the new school were withdrawn until instruction was offered in Indonesian as well. Nevertheless, English is perceived as the language of the future. As one *HELLO* reader who belongs to An Association of English Students writes,

I'm very scared to face the future. I imagine in the future all my friends can speak English fluently but I can't do the same. I'm pessimistic to face my own future.

Everyday use of English is increasing as well in contemporary Jakarta as a sign of prestige; teenagers are said to imitate American accents even when they speak Indonesian (personal communication, Tinuk Yampolsky, August 1995). Older Indonesians sometimes restrict their use of English at work. One businessman told me he wrote memos to his partners in English until the memos circulated in the office; then he switched to Indonesian to avoid being called arrogant. It is worth investigating when and how Indonesians speak English at home and in other social contexts.



Ultimately, Indonesians' interest in English instruction remains tethered to the success of Bahasa Indonesia as a national language. It remains to be seen what balance will be struck between national and international discourses. 'English is the Golden Bridge', one correspondent writes enthusiastically, borrowing the metaphor from former President Sukarno's speeches describing the Indonesian Revolution. Yet English is not revolutionary in its contemporary linguistic impact. Its appeal and status as 'the international language' depends precisely upon Indonesians' perceptions of it as such, and their collective motivations to learn to speak it.

### References

- Alip, Francis. 1993. *A Study of English Speakers in Java*. Stonybrook: SUNY-Stonybrook.
- Cohn, Bernard. 1988. "The Language of Command, the Command of Language." In *Subaltern Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cohen, Margot. 1993. "Etons of the East." *Far Eastern Economic Review*, July 8, p. 21.
- Freud, Sigmund. 1937. *Jokes and their relation to the Unconscious*. New York: Norton.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1960. *Religion in Java*. Glencoe: Free Press.
- Glicken, Jessica. 1987. "Sundanese Islam and the Value of Hormat: Control, Obedience, and Social Location in West Java." In *Indonesian Religion in Transition*, ed. Rita Kipp and Jane Atkinson, pp. 238–58. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Kachru, Braj. 1983. *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

- Kachru, Braj. 1986. *The Alchemy of English: The Spread, Functions and Models of Non-Native Englishes*. Oxford: Pergamon Institute of English.
- Machan, Tim, and Charles T. Scott, ed.. 1992. *English in Its Social Contexts: Essays in Historical Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mrazek, Rudolf. 1993. *Sjahir: Politics and Exile in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Monograph Series.
- Quirk, Raymond, and H.G. Widdowson, eds. 1985. *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ricklefs, M.C. 1981. *A History of Modern Indonesia*. London: Macmillian Press Ltd.
- Shiraishi, Saya. 1991. *Young Heros: New Order Politics and Schools in Jakarta*. Ithaca: Cornell University.
- Shiraishi, Takashi. 1990. *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912–1926*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Siegel, James. 1986. *Solo in the New Order: Language and Hierarchy in an Indonesian City*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Suryadinata, Leo. 1972. "Indonesian Chinese Education: Past and Present." *Indonesia* 14(2):49–72.
- Sutherland, Heather. 1979. *The Making of a Bureaucratic Elite*. Singapore: University of Singapore Press.
- Toer, Pramoedya. 1993. *Child of All Nations [Anak Semua Bangsa]*. New York: William Morrow and Co.